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PAGE 01 ACCRA 04878 01 OF 04 101631Z  
ACTION IO-16

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-01

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O 101623Z JUN 94  
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1291  
INFO ECOWAS COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ACCRA 004878

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, MOPS, UNSC, RW, CG, UG, GH  
SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE  
CEASEFIRE IN RWANDA AND IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC  
RESOLUTIONS AND ARUSHA AGREEMENT

REF: A) ACCRA 4242; B) STATE 152175; C) ACCRA 3865; D)  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 04878 01 OF 04 101631Z  
ACCRA 4025; E) STATE 119480; F) USDAO KINSHASA 021236Z  
JUN

1. (C) ON JUNE 9, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER IBN CHAMBAS  
TOLD DCM THAT RWANDA WOULD BE THE NUMBER ONE ISSUE AT  
THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. REFERRING TO THE CURRENT  
SITUATION AS A TRAGEDY WHERE BOTH SIDES HAD GONE "BEYOND  
REASON," CHAMBAS SAID IT WOULD TAKE MAXIMUM PRESSURE  
FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO BRING ABOUT A  
CEASEFIRE AND REACH A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IN  
RWANDA. HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT RAWLINGS HAD SENT A

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DELEGATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR LT. GEN (RTD) ARNOLD QUAINOO AND CHIEF OF STAFF BRIGADIER AGYEMFRA TO UGANDA AND ZAIRE TO URGE PRESIDENTS MUSEVENI AND MOBUTU TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE RPF AND THE MILITARY RESPECTIVELY TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE (REF F).

2. (C) CHAMBAS ALSO CONFIRMED THAT GHANA WAS WILLING TO INCREASE ITS CONTINGENT IN UNAMIR. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT GHANA WOULD NEED APPROPRIATE LOGISTIC SUPPORT FROM THE U.S. HE NOTED THAT THE U.S. WAS THE ONLY NATION WITH THE NECESSARY LOGISTIC SUPPORT. HE SAID IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE U.S. EXPERIENCE IN SOMALIA WOULD PROBABLY PRECLUDE INVOLVEMENT OF U.S. TROOPS, BUT AGAIN COMMENTED THAT THE U.S. COULD PLAY ITS ROLE BY PROVIDING MATERIEL INSTEAD OF PERSONNEL. (IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH THE DCM, THE MFA'S CHIEF DIRECTOR FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS MADE SIMILAR REMARKS.)

3. (U) IN A JUNE 3 SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT, DEPUTY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 04878 01 OF 04 101631Z  
FOREIGN MINISTER CHAMBAS CALLED ON BOTH SIDES IN THE RWANDA TRAGEDY TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. HE ALSO CALLED FOR THE FULL AND IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS REGARDING RWANDA. HE URGED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO "EXERT EVERY PRESSURE ON THE WARRING FACTIONS TO STOP HOSTILITIES AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE." HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT REMAINS THE "SUREST GUARANTEE" FOR PEACE.

4. (4) OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH CHAMBAS AND ATTEPOR UNDERSCORE GOG WILLINGNESS TO COMMIT TROOPS TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. THEIR ABILITY TO DO SO, HOWEVER, CLEARLY DEPENDS UPON RECEIVING APPROPRIATE LOGISTIC SUPPORT.

5. (U) TEXT OF CHAMBAS' SPEECH FOLLOWS:

THE PROBLEM IN RWANDA HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE COLONIAL POLICY OF INDIRECT RULE WHICH FOSTERED A TUTSI MINORITY RULING CLEAR OVER THE RWANDESE POPULATION, SOWING THE SEEDS OF ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE HUTUS AND THE TUTSI THE TWO MAIN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY, WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATE FOR YEARS. AS WOULD BE RECALLED IN THE EARLY 1960'S SOON AFTER INDEPENDENCE,

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HOSTILITIES ARISING FROM THIS ANIMOSITY FORCED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF RWANDESE NATIONALS, MOSTLY OF THE TUTSI TRIBE, TO FLEE INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES LIKE TANZANIA, UGANDA AND BURUNDI. A UN EFFORT THEN FAILED TO STOP THE MASSACRES LEAVING BITTER MEMORIES IN THE VICTIMS ABOUT THE UN. A FEW YEARS AGO MANY OF THESE REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM UGANDA, TRIED TO RETURN TO THEIR

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04            ACCRA 04878 01 OF 04 1016312  
COUNTRY BUT WERE FACED WITH OPPOSITION FROM THE THEN GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS LED BY THE LATE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. NEGOTIATIONS WERE THEREFORE INITIATED TO SEE HOW BEST THEIR RETURN COULD BE FACILITATED. UNFORTUNATELY, AS A SOLUTION WAS ABOUT TO BE FOUND, FRESH DIFFICULTIES AROSE FROM THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT'S INSISTENCE ON BEING ALLOWED TO DETERMINE WHICH OF THE REFUGEES SHOULD RETURN AND IN WHAT NUMBERS, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE SMALL SIZE OF AN ALREADY OVERPOPULATED RWANDA COULD NOT ABSORB ALL THE REFUGEES AT ONCE.

THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT'S SUDDEN CHANGE OF ATTITUDE INFURIATED SOME OF THE REFUGEES, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN UGANDA WHO THEREFORE LAUNCHED AN ATTACK ON RWANDA ON OCTOBER 1, 1992. SINCE THE ATTACK CAME MOSTLY FROM ACROSS THE UGANDAN BORDER, THE RULING PARTY IN RWANDA BEGAN ACCUSING PRESIDENT MUSEVENI OF INSTIGATING THE ATTACK. WITH THE INCREASING LOSS OF LIVES AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION WHICH THESE ACCUSATIONS HAD GIVEN TO THE CONFLICT, THE LEADERS OF THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING, IN PARTICULAR, THE PRESIDENTS OF ZAIRE AND TANZANIA AS WELL AS THE OAU, INTERVENED TO STOP THE HOSTILITIES. AN OAU OBSERVER TEAM WAS

CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01            ACCRA 04878 02 OF 04 101632Z  
ACTION IO-16

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DESPATCHED TO THE COUNTRY TO MONITOR AN AGREED CEASEFIRE  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02            ACCRA 04878 02 OF 04 101632Z  
WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE ORGANIZED IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA,  
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF  
TANZANIA IN ORDER TO FIND A MORE PERMANENT POLITICAL  
SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

AFTER SEVERAL VICISSITUDES, AN AGREEMENT WAS FINALLY  
IRONED OUT ON AUGUST 4TH, 1993, WHICH BASICALLY PROVIDED  
FOR POWER SHARING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RULING  
MRND LED BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON THE ONE HAND, AND  
SEVERAL OPPOSITION PARTIES INCLUDING THE TUTSI LED REBEL  
TROOPS ON THE OTHERS.

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UNFORTUNATELY, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT PROVED EXTREMELY DIFFICULT MAINLY BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT APPEARED TO RESIST ANY FORMULA THAT DID NOT LEAVE HIM IN A COMMAND POSITION.

IT WAS AFTER A SEARCH FOR A WAY OUT OF THIS IMPASSE IN TANZANIA THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS BURUNDI COUNTERPART WERE SHOT DEAD IN THEIR PLANE AS THEY WERE RETURNING TO KIGALI, THE CAPITAL OF RWANDA.

MR. SPEAKER, DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THAT INCIDENT ARE TOO WELL KNOWN TO HONORABLE MEMBERS FOR ME TO REPEAT THEM HERE. LET ME ONLY SAY THAT THE DEATHS OF THE TWO PRESIDENTS TRIGGERED OFF WIDESPREAD ETHNIC CLASHES. HUNDREDS OF GUN WIELDING SOLDIERS MAINLY OF THE HUTU TRIBE REPORTEDLY WENT ON THE RAMPAGE, LOOTING AND SHOOTING ANY MEMBER OF THE MINORITY TUTSI IN KIGALI. THESE WERE SOON JOINED BY MARAUDING GANGS ALLEGED TO HAVE COME FROM MILITIAMEN APPARENTLY TRAINED BY THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03            ACCRA 04878 02 OF 04 101632Z  
PRESIDENT'S PARTY FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREVENTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT. THESE GANGS WENT ROUND WIELDING MACHETES, HACKING AND KILLING MEMBERS OF THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH IN TURN LED TO SEVERAL DEATHS AND A FLOOD OF REFUGEES FROM RWANDA INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

THE DEATH TOLL SINCE THE CRISIS HAS BEEN PUT AT BETWEEN 200,000 AND 500,000 FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES.

THE HUMAN TRAGEDY UNFOLDING IN THE COUNTRY COMPELLED THE UN TO SEND TROOPS THERE, AND AS HONORABLE MEMBERS WILL RECALL GHANA IN SPITE OF OUR OWN SECURITY NEEDS DUE TO THE CONFLICT IN THE NORTHERN REGION, CONTRIBUTED TO THE UN EFFORT BY SENDING A CONTINGENT OF ITS ARMY TO JOIN THE UN FORCE IN FACILITATING THE DELIVERY OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THAT COUNTRY. UNFORTUNATELY, NOT LONG AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN RWANDA, THREE MEMBERS OF THE UN OBSERVER TEAM WERE KILLED.

THREE RWANDESE MINISTERS OF STATE WERE KIDNAPPED ON THE SAME DAY BY MEMBERS OF HABYARIMANA'S IRATE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD. IN THE EVENING OF 7TH APRIL, 1994, GOVERNMENT

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SOLDIERS ATTACKED A UN COMPOUND IN KIGALI WHERE THE COUNTRY'S PRIME MINISTER AGATE UWILINGIYIMANA, A TUTSI, HAD TAKEN REFUGE AND ALLEGEDLY KILLED HER AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF HER FAMILY. TEN BELGIAN UN PEACEKEEPERS PROTECTING THE PRIME MINISTER WERE ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY KILLED. SEVEN CATHOLIC PRIESTS WERE ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN SHOT AND KILLED. THE THREE MINISTERS OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ACCRA 04878 02 OF 04 101632Z  
KIDNAPPED FROM THEIR HOMES WITH THEIR FAMILIES WERE LATER CONFIRMED DEAD AFTER BEING MOWED DOWN BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE RWANDESE ARMY ON THE RAMPAGE.

IN THE FACE OF THESE ATROCITIES, THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY, FRANCE, BELGIUM AND THE USA WORKED TOGETHER TO EVACUATE THEIR NATIONALS AND CITIZENS OF OTHER COUNTRIES FROM RWANDA. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH INITIALLY RENEWED BY 4 MONTHS THE MANDATE OF ITS 2,500-MAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN RWANDA ALSO REGRETTABLY ORDERED THE WITHDRAWAL OF MOST OF THE PEACEKEEPERS, LEAVING IN PLACE A SKELETON FORCE OF 400 MEN, THEREBY ABANDONING THE RWANDESE PEOPLE TO CONTINUE THE SENSELESS FRATRICIDE. THE UN AGENCIES AND NGO'S THEN SET UP A TEMPORARY OPERATIONAL BASE IN NAIROBI TO OVERSEE EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA, WHILE AWAITING PERMISSION FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRY.

MR. SPEAKER, Q.3 321 TROOPS IN RWANDA  
AND WE HAVE AGREED TO SEND MORE TROOPS ALONGSIDE OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, NAMELY ETHIOPIA, SENEGAL, TANZANIA AND ZIMBABWE TO THE WAR TORN COUNTRY IN RESPONSE TO THE

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PAGE 01            ACCRA 04878 03 OF 04 101633Z  
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UN DECISION TO SEND ABOUT 5,500 PEACEKEEPERS TO RWANDA.  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02            ACCRA 04878 03 OF 04 101633Z  
MEANWHILE, GHANA'S BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY ANYIDHOHO  
CONTINUES TO HEAD THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION  
IN RWANDA (UNAMIR).

IT APPEARS THE RPF IS POISED TO CAPTURE KIGALI AND  
THEREBY TAKE OVER POLITICAL POWER IN RWANDA. THIS  
MILITARY SOLUTION WILL DEEPEN THE CRISIS AND WORSEN THE  
REFUGEE PROBLEM, AS RETREATING HUTU MILITIA AND  
GOVERNMENT TROOPS WILL NOT LEAVE THE COUNTRY QUIETLY AND  
GO INTO EXILE. THE TUTSI DOMINATED RPF'S MILITARY WILL  
ALSO TRY TO REVENGE WHICH IS BOUND TO ESCALATE ETHNIC

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VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. THE HUTU MAJORITY WILL MOST LIKELY REGROUP TO FIGHT ANOTHER DAY, MEANING THAT THE CYCLE WILL CONTINUE.

IN THE CIRCUMSTANCE, MR. SPEAKER, THE QUESTION WHICH COMES TO MIND IS WHAT ONE SHOULD DO NEXT? WHAT IS THE WAY FORWARD? WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LATEST UN RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION. THAT RESOLUTION YOU WOULD RECALL DEMANDS THAT ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CEASE HOSTILITIES, AGREE TO OBSERVE A CEASEFIRE AND BRING AN END TO THE MINDLESS VIOLENCE AND CARNAGE ENGULFING THE COUNTRY. IT ALSO CALLS ON ALL STATES TO PREVENT THE SALE OR SUPPLY TO RWANDA BY THEIR NATIONALS OR FROM THEIR FACILITIES OR USING THEIR FLAG VESSELS OR AIRCRAFT OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIAL INCLUDING WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION, MILITARY VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT AS WELL AS PARA MILITARY POLICE EQUIPMENT AND SPARE PARTS.

UNLESS THESE SECURITY COUNCIL DECISIONS ARE FULLY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ACCRA 04878 03 OF 04 101633Z  
IMPLEMENTED, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR UN TROOPS TO CARRY OUT THEIR MANDATE WHICH INCLUDES ABOVE ALL THE PROVISION OF SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS AT RISK IN THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE PROVISION OF SUPPORT FOR THE DELIVERY OR DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THEREFORE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO EXERT EVERY PRESSURE ON THE WARRING FACTIONS TO STOP HOSTILITIES AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

WITH REGARD TO THE LONG TERM SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM, WE BELIEVE THAT THE AUGUST 4, 1993, ARUSHA AGREEMENT REMAINS THE SUREST GUARANTEE FOR PEACE AND WOULD URGE ALL CONCERNED TO ALLOW FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SAID AGREEMENT. BROWN

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